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father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his clansmen in the settlement; so that a man who gets a pound or so of Nandi tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used in various magico-religious performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a naming they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep; but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, ceremonials, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *kerwiek* by the Nandi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift-exchange, or through bride-payment. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo earn wages; but except for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average in 1939 was 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as squatters for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what was their own land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, our idea of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the transitional stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

The transitional stage which the Dorobo had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Dorobo are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their agricultural or pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some, such as the 'false Dorobo' in parts of Kenya who are merely outlaws and fugitives from various tribes. But it is quite clearly not true of the real Dorobo[9], like those who form the subject of this paper, who are unmistakably non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

[9] Cf. my remarks in JRAI 59. 1929. p. 278.

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barrel so that the smoke goes inside and the bees come out. He then takes out what honey he wants, wraps it in the leaves he has brought, and descends, carefully extinguishing the tinder when he has reached the ground. Though sometimes the barrels are not more than a few feet from the ground, very often the process of taking honey means a climb of eighty feet or so with no help but the unsteady ladder already described.

Although honey has great ritual and social value, like milk to the Nandi, it cannot be said that bees take the place of cattle in the daily life of the people, for they require and receive no care beyond the provision of barrels and the due observance of the taboos concerning honey, and there is really no need to know very much about them. But as producers of honey, bees provide material for food, drink, and ritual, and they are thus of some importance. Honey, too, is a much-used medium of exchange. Without honey, Dorobo life would be vain and empty.

b) Hunting

In the past, hunting was the chief occupation of Dorobo men, and though they hunt but little now, confining their activities to trapping, they have still a "hunting outlook". The conversation of Dorobo walking through the forest sooner or later turns on the animal life around them, for as we have already noted, they have what the Nandi call *comiet*, which one might almost render 'affinity', with the beasts of the forest. The sort of talk that goes on in the forest is something like this sample, which I took down after hearing it :

A. *Kelich aṗ tiowik.*
The-feet of the-animals.

B. *Iro, ni poinot, puuu yo, wendi yo.*
Look, this-one (is) the-bushbuck, it-comes-from over-there, it-goes over-there.
Miniu, a ma miniu miniu, tinye lakuennyi kitchin.
Small, but not small very, it-has its-child small.

A. *Cecok cuto tiowik, mii samakiannyon; acoma*
(They are) ours these animals, they-are-in our-forest; I-like (the things)
cepo samak.
which-are-of forest.

B. *Ingeeuwen ulinio timin, apdre mii tiond ake. Ne*
Let-us-look over-there (in) that-forest, perhaps there-is the-animal another. What
ni ne kuikuioti orii?
(is) this that creeps-about inside?

A. *Apdre tumia.*
Perhaps the-giant-pig.

B. *Weiis, asuweni matit. Ingoatinye kuyanda apdre no. A mamii*
Yes, I-see the-head. If-I-had the-bow I-kill that-one. But there-is-
kuyanda.
not-here the-bow.

A. *Ingeeuwen ole mwe.*
Let-us-see where it-escapes-(to).

and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Nandi. Tobacco, which they like, is not grown as yet, and this too must be obtained from the Nandi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

1 arrow head is given for a gourd of honey.
1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of honey.
1 large pot is given for a large bushbuck skin.
1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
2 basketfuls of seed for one basket.[1]

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's weeding in the smith's garden for two knives.

Cattle are obtained from the Nandi, to a limited extent, by a system of gift exchange for furs. The Nandi make friends with the Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey, and the Dorobo will give some to his Nandi friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dorobo offers his friend a fur cloak for an ox, as e.g. my friend Arap Minig acquired one from a Nandi called Kapkile at Ollesos; he also got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought out of his wages for working on a farm.

C. *Techniques*

1. Hunting

The dry weather, ~~*umainonik*~~, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, *imot*, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kapchepkendi Dorobo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In the dry season, wild pig of various kinds[2] were

[1] A honey-bag is about 12 ins. deep, and 8 ins. wide; it contains about twice as much honey as a gourd. A basket (kerepet) is about 6 ins. deep and 6½ ins. wide at the top.

[2] *Tumda*, the wart-hog (Phacochoerus aethiopicus); and *Torsot*, the giant hog or bush-pig (Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni).